1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

30 The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] 31 Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] 32 The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Leste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] 33 Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] 34 Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

35 Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the município of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

36 For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter III.

[113] [1]See section by Pedro Calmon in Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World (Information Sheet No. 1. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931]), p. 5. In addition to the specific quotations, much of the historical detail which follows on Bahia and the Recôncavo has been taken from this source.

[114] According to Calmon (see page 3) Amerigo Vespucci was in the first group of Europeans to enter the Baía de Todos os Santos (1501) and was the first to lead an expedition inland from the Bay (1503). It was not until 1534 that the first attempt at colonization was made; this initial colony was destroyed by hostile Indians. The next attempt was in 1549.

[2]Spanish settlements in the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico area, such as Havana, Jamaica, Darién, and San Juan, were established between 1509 and 1515. In Brazil, São Vincente (near present Santos) and Recife were established in 1532 and 1531, respectively. Rio de Janeiro (1555) and Buenos Aires (1580) are younger than Salvador.

[3]Negro slaves were reported in Bahia in 1538, after the first settlement attempt but before the official founding of the permanent colony. João Pandiá Calogeras, A History of Brazil, trans. and ed. Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 21.

[4]Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), II, 82-83; 192-193. In addition to the material specifically credited to Amaral, this three-volume agricultural history has been one of the basic sources for much of the historical analysis which follows.

[5]It is not clear whether these two indigenous crops were borrowed directly from the local Indians or were received indirectly via other Brazilian colonies.

[6]In 1583, thirty-six sugar mills were reported in Bahia. Amaral, op. cit., II, 82.

[113] [7]Caio Prado Junior, História Econômica do Brasil (second edition; São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense Limitada, 1949), p. 40. This volume has been the basic general economic source for the historical analysis which follows.

[113] [8]Amaral, op. cit., I, 194, citing Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil, [1587].

[9]In northeastern Brazil, as in a number of other areas in Latin America, Indian slavery failed as a labor source because of a basic lack of supply, bitter resistance to enslavement, and a high death rate in captivity. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 26.

[11]Ibid.

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[113] [114] [137] [113] [994] [911] [216] [33]

[12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1949), pp. 59-80. The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples. See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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[27]Prado, op. cit., p. 87.

[28]Prado, op. cit., p. 97.

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[113] [29]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 5-6.

[30]The number of people who went abroad must always have been small. The upper class as a whole seems to have been extremely provincial, so that the few cosmopolitans were very conspicuous.

[31]Amaral, op. cit., I, 91-92, citing Pizarro, Balbi, Manoel Antonio de Souza, and Spix and Martius for population data of the colonial period.

[32]Amaral, op. cit., I, 73.

[33]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 9. At this time Rio de Janeiro, which had been the national capital since 1763, became also the largest city.

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[162] [34]Amaral, op cit., I, 91, after Balbi, gives the following breakdown [1819]

	Total	Slave	Negro	Mulatto
White	192,000			
Indian	13,000			
Mulatto-Free	80,000			80,000
Mulatto-Slave	35,000	35,000		35,000
Negro-Free	49,000		49,000	
Negro-Slave	489,000	489,000	489,000	
	858,000	524,000	538,000	115,000

after Pizarro [1822]

Free	419,432
Slave	173,476
Total	592,908

[35]Amaral, op. cit., II, 85.

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[563] [36]The Paulista bandeirantes were wandering cultivators, herdsmen,
[463] and slave raiders who moved out of São Paulo to penetrate into most of the interior of Brazil south of the Amazon Valley. Their society was, in comparison with that of the Recôncavo, equalitarian.

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[635] [37]The Central-South as used here includes the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

[38]Amaral, op. cit., II, 86.

[39]Ibid., p. 98.

[40]The discussion of the twentieth century reorganisation of the sugar industry and of the tobacco industry outlines the general lines of development. A fuller discussion will follow in the chapters on crops and cropland distribution (Chapter V), crop regions and systems (Chapter VI), and marketing, transportation and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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[41]Prado, op. cit., p. 255.

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[42]At this point the terminology of the sugar industry becomes even more complex. Engenho, engenho central, and usina all refer either to the industrial and the agricultural segments of the industry or to the mill alone. Indication will be made, where necessary, when the term refers to the mill only. Fornecedores (furnishers) are usually called fazendas (a type of plantation, although elsewhere the term might apply to a cattle ranch). Some fazendas were former engenhos and have sometimes retained that name. An additional complication is the fact that "engenho" occasionally is used as part of a name where there is not necessarily a functioning mill or plantation. In addition, fazendas may be owned and operated as part of a large usina.

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[43]This period was characterized by a bitter struggle, chiefly on the political level, between the fornecedores and the large mill owners. In the end superior economic resources, coupled with political influence, enabled the large mill owners to defeat but not completely dispossess the fornecedores in the Recôncavo.

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[44]By 1940, over one-half of the people of Brazil lived in the central southern region. Because of the higher standard of living, the people in this area accounted for much more than one-half of the internal market for sugar.

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[45]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatístico do Brasil--1953, Ano XIV (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953), p. 189.

[46]Amaral, op. cit., II, 369.

[47]Ibid., p. 370.

[48]The problems will be discussed in the chapters on population (Chapter IV) and on marketing, transportation, and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data 249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the 433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from 127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of 128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[1]Antonio Nonanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

4: Pierson, Donald. Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia. Foreword by Herman R. Lantz. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967.

Pp. lxxxiii, 420; 16 tables; 3 appendices; glossary; bibliography; 2 indices.

HRAF copy. DLC card No.: 66-15058.

/This work is a "classic" study of race relations and culture contact in Brazil, specifically in the seaport town of Bahia (Salvador), where the author spent twenty-two out of his twenty-four month's total field work time. The study, which was first published in 1942, went out of print after only a few impressions, and it was not until 1967 that it was republished. This present edition had been updated with new material including a new introduction by the author in which he reanalyzes his original work in terms of the events which have transpired since the first edition and integrating into it data gathered from other scholarly publications. This introduction now includes the author's analysis of the difference between prejudice and discrimination. Also included in this revised edition is a complete glossary and additional supplementary bibliographies.

The source begins with a description of the seaport of Bahia, and then proceeds with a penetrating discussion of the racial history and cultural contact of its inhabitants, including data on the introduction of Africans to Brazil as slaves, their eventual assimilation, intermarriage, and status in the society, the preservation of certain aspects of the African heritage to the present-day, as evidenced by the Candomblé or

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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[13]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:504) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[13] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955: 163).

Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco*, is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

Besides, there always has been a great "gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, a "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

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of this problem will appear elsewhere. Particularly useful in considering the circumstances involved, it seems to us, are the works of Stanley Lane-Poole (1886), H. Morse Stephens (1903), S. P. Scott (1904), Sir Harry H. Johnston (1910), James Bryce (1912), Gilberto Freyre (especially 1936, 1937, 1959), Arthur Ramos (1939), E. Franklin Frazier (1944), Thales de Azevedo (1955a, 1955b, 1959), Frank Tannenbaum (1947, 1960), C. R. Boxer (1953), René Ribeiro (1956), Stanley M. Elkins (1959), Eric Williams (1960), Sidney W. Mintz (1961), and Marvin Harris (1964) among others, including a host of able travelers and observers in Brazil.

Since our original study at Bahia was made, the Brazilian slave trade, or the character and function of the slave institution on plantations, on smaller holdings and in the towns and cities, or the extent and significance of slave revolts, or the abolition movement and its aftermath, have been further studied by Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay (1941), Alexander Marchant (1942), Caio Prado Júnior (1945), Edison Carneiro (1947), Maurício Goulart (1950), Florestan Fernandes (1955), Stanley Stein (1957), Octávio Ianni (1962), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1962), C. R. Boxer (1962, 1963), and others. African cultural elements still extant in Brazil, particularly those associated with the Afro-Brazilian cult, but with attention at times also to present-day forms of language, music, songs, dances, games, and other cultural phenomena, have been further described and analyzed since our original study was undertaken by (among others) João da Silva Campos, Aydano de Couto Ferraz, Ruth Landes, Melville J. Herskovits, and Edison Carneiro (1940, 1944, 1961) at Bahia; Roger Bastide, also at Bahia and elsewhere in northern Brazil (1945, 1946, 1957b, 1960, 1961); René Ribeiro (1952a, 1954), and Waldemar Valente at Recife;

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Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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is that of a racial or cultural minority seeking to achieve, in a community in which it is regarded as in some sense and to some degree an alien, a status that is at once secure and unqualified by the stigma of any sort of inferiority. Elsewhere the race problem may take the form of a nationalistic struggle in which the native peoples, within the limits of an imperium where they have been conquered but not assimilated, are seeking, if not national independence, then some further measure of self-determination. This is the case of India. It may presently be, if the present German government succeeds in carrying out its program, the case of Europe.

The expansion of the racial horizon, which has changed and is changing current conceptions of the race problem in the United States and elsewhere, has brought about—and this is particularly true of sociology and social anthropology—something like a reorientation of the social sciences, with respect to the race problem and to all that is ordinarily included under race relations.[1]

Social anthropology is, apparently, no longer regarded, to the extent that it once was, as a purely historical science, interested mainly in unraveling and tracing to their sources the varied threads that make up the cultural patterns of primitive societies.

Anthropology, as it has become "functional," has become less interested in cultural diffusion and more interested in acculturation and in the processes by which cultural traits have been not merely diffused but integrated into those larger and more complex cultural patterns we call civilizations.

[1] Edgar T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939).

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Anthropology has begun, also, in recent years to turn its attention to contemporary social problems, including that of education. In England anthropologists have become technical advisers in colonial administration.[2] In the United States they are beginning to study "marginal peoples," that is to say, peoples who, under the influence of European culture, are now in the process, sometimes slowly but more often rapidly, of being assimilated and incorporated into an emerging world-society—the society which the expansion of Europe has brought into existence.[3]

The race problem has assumed new dimensions and new significance, likewise, with the recent researches of sociologists in the field of race and culture and in areas of observation and research immediately contiguous. Probably nothing has been more influential than the publication of the monumental work by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, in directing the attention of sociological students to the possibility and the importance of studies in the field of race and culture. Thomas and Znaniecki were the first, or almost the first, to call attention to the fact that the situation of the European immigrant in the United States can be defined in terms that imply its logical relation to that of the Negro, even though the Negro, in the Americas, North and South and particularly in the West Indies, is not an alien or an immigrant but has become, in the course

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[2] See G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt, *Anthropology in Action: An Experiment in the Iringa District of the Iringa Province, Tanganyika Territory* (London: International Institute of African Languages and Cultures; Oxford University Press, 1935). See also unpublished papers contributed to a symposium on "Education and the Cultural Process," in connection with the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Fisk University, April, 1941.

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[3] See Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

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of some three hundred years' residence, an indigenous race intimately related by blood to the Indian who preceded him. 121*

Perhaps I should add, now that I have mentioned the *Polish Peasant*, that it was the rather elaborate "methodological note" with which the authors prefaced that study which first defined "social attitudes" and indicated the way in which that concept could be used in characterizing local cultures as well as in measuring, in some fashion, cultural and institutional changes.[4]

If I have ventured by way of introduction to this study of race relations in Brazil to sketch the outlines of an expanding though as yet very little integrated field of sociological and anthropological research, it has been less with the purpose of reporting on the state of knowledge in that field at the moment than of indicating the context in which this study had been conceived and the place it seems to have in the sequence of studies that have preceded and which will presumably follow it.

In suggesting the possibility of future studies to follow this one, I am reckoning with two facts: (1) that Brazil is one of the more conspicuous melting-pots of races and cultures around the world where miscegenation and acculturation are obviously going on and (2) that a comparative study of the problematic aspects of race and culture is likely to have a special importance at this time when the structure of

[4] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1st ed.; Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1918–20; 2d ed.; New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927). Herbert Blumer, *Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences. I. An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America"* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939). As an illustration of how "attitudes" have been used in measuring fundamental institutional changes see Alfred Winslow Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property: A Story of Conflict and a Measurement of Conflicting Rights* (New York and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941).

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[City of Salvador]

CHAPTER I

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

JAMES BRYCE once wrote of the racial situation in Brazil: "It is a subject of study all the more interesting because the relations are . . . . different from those . . . . in the British colonies, in India, and in the United States."[1] Bryce might well have added that such differences constitute one of the more significant portions of any study of race relations. It is by investigating in intimate and concrete detail variant racial situations in different parts of the world and subsequently comparing and contrasting each set of conditions and circumstances that we are able to build up, case by case, a more complete knowledge of the race problem, its sources and nature. The more we see the United States and her problems through the perspective of a world-view--the more, in other words, we detach ourselves from the merely local and provincial—the more clearly will our own problems stand out.

If one looks about in Brazil for a door, so to speak, through which he may enter to examine at first hand the Brazilian racial situation, he may well choose the picturesque old seaport of Bahia,[2] known affectionately in Brazil as "A Mulata Velha." For here the processes of racial adjustment have perhaps gone on longest and most persistently, have involved large numbers from each of the three basic human

[1] *South America* (New York, 1912), p. 20.

[2] Bahia ("Bay") is pronounced *Bah-ee'-uh* and is written, in "simplified" spelling, Baía. The city is also known as São Salvador or, more correctly, Salvador ("Savior").

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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brasil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vasconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,260 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[1]

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[1] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[1]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[1] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[10] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerors. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[11] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[10] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[11] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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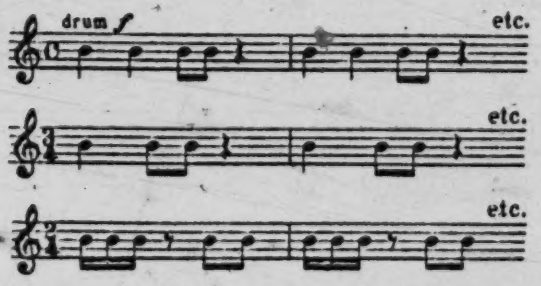
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:



For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:

Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1933), 194.

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,' " *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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CHAPTER XI

BLACK AND WHITE AT BAHIA

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THE foregoing chapters have dealt with some of the consequences, in one part of the New World, of what has been the greatest population movement in all history, namely, the series of migrations associated with the expansion of western Europe. The Portuguese, with whom we are here particularly concerned, were in the forefront of this outward movement which now for over five centuries has been bringing European peoples and European cultures into intimate contact with native peoples and native cultures all over the habitable world. Park,[1] McKenzie,[2] and other writers have pointed out in some detail the chain of circumstances occasioned by this expansion which, in fact, has ushered in all that is peculiarly characteristic of the modern world.

The expansion of Europe is a distinct historical process. It constitutes an era of world-history which had a definite beginning and which, as Park has pointed out,[3] is now at or quite near an end. It has, therefore, a unitary character which makes it a thing that can be studied like any other natural object. Moreover, it is subject to comparison; simi-

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[1] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 57–85; and in Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938), Introduction.

[2] R. D. McKenzie, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of Peoples," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter, pp. 19–33.

[3] Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. x–xi.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 139 and 250.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[11] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[11] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

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[1] The system of listing Brazilian names here employed is that adopted by the Bibliotheca Municipal of São Paulo.

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[SALVADOR]

/5 cont./

124 in Bahia society. Out of 48 of the individuals mentioned above, with whom I maintained more or less close relations, I interviewed 25 personally and I chose 20 among 80 with whom I had not had any contact; the other 11, almost all of them of the female sex, were interviewed by assistants connected with the investigation. We were thus able /6/ to talk to 20 Blacks and 36 mulattoes of different types, 12 of them women and 44 men who practiced the professions of lawyer, judge, physician, civil engineer, dentist, economist, professor, artist, contractor, merchant, official, not counting the priests and university students, several of whom, besides their principal occupations, devoted themselves to political, bureaucratic, educational, and social activities. Almost all the subjects in question are in modest circumstances, sometimes even very poor, and have attained positions of more or less great prestige. Their ages vary between 20 and 70 years, but with the majority ranging from 30 to 50. All are natives of Bahia or have lived there for a long time.

The interviews (1)

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1. On the techniques and advantages of this kind of interview, cf. Clyde Kluckholn /sic/, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science," in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, "Social Science Research Council Bulletin," New York, 1945, p. 125.

dealt with race relations and color prejudices, and stressed the problem of social ascent; the most complete freedom of expression was allowed the informants. The investigator interrupted only in order to prevent the conversation from digressing. It was almost always necessary at one time or another to bring the informant back to his subject, in order to obtain a continuous account.

[SALVADOR]

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

• [113]

1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

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[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 *563 633 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

633 *563

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1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 633 [103] [249] [192] From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] [363] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portugnese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[567] [167] [162]

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4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

5: Azevedo--7 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil S11

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
827 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
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2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. [114] In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. [113] Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113] 1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evolúçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 /13 cont./
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•[113] may not be of African blood (3).

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192 The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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*563 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
829 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
815 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
[113] Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd
edition, written at the beginning of the century),
the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced
from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black; he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are morenínhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of uniformity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

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1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

[SALVADOR]

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to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

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The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

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Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

/15 cont./
829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of
the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city,
there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the
[177] métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[192] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sararâ. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

• [113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 *563 [829] a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

[829] These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines. Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The *563 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to 162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio [829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other 175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from *563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been 567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive 161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor- *563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life, 161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

•[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

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3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

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[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

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1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 condemned crossbreeding because "in all the countries colonized by the white and colored races there is a substantial difference between the aims of civilization and the savage impulses of individuals of mixed blood or of inferior blood. Civilized or not, the natives, the Africans and their descendants never entirely lose the barbaric customs." Even today such an opinion is very widespread, although it is expressed very discreetly in conversations and almost never in writing: an intellectual who considers himself "progressive," even if he thought that way, would avoid openly expressing this thought. One sometimes hears it said that the slowness of economic development /26/ and the resistance of Bahia to cultural evolution are due to the large number of Blacks in its population, "because the Blacks do not have any ambition." "Anyone who does not think so," an economist suggests in an article devoted to the advantages of foreign immigration, "does not recognize our historic, economic, and racial precedents." "During the period of slavery," he continues, "the Blacks lived like beasts of burden, as ignorant as animals, without family organization (their servile condition made it impossible for them), they brought with them numerous endemic diseases and fetishist practices from their continent of origin; finally, with abolition, the slaves left the fields and came to the cities in order to beg, pillage, give themselves up to all sorts of vices, and to cause all sorts of nuisances." In other parts of Brazil it is not rare to hear the same opinions expressed about our State. Toward the middle 829 of the last century, an author of great renown wrote from Rio de Janeiro: "Let us make a parallel between the development of the province of Bahia, which had relatively the largest number of Blacks, and the Rio Grande do Sul, which contains the strongest center of European colonists! While agriculture, commerce, and the revenues of the first decrease visibly, the other province prospers in all spheres..." (1).

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1. A. C. Tavares Bastos, Cartas do solitario /Letters of the Solitary/, (1862), 3rd edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.

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[SALVADOR]

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829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
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●[113]

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, accordi ig to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of spea ding, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions . . .
he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
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2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers. . . , he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

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3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

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/27 cont./

829 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a
*563 result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution,
157 is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

• [113]

4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

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5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against
*563 the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

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829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

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1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families [267] of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 [162] and in 22 o/o the latter was darker (1).

• [113]

1. Thales de Azevedo, "Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia /An aspect of cross-breeding in Bahia/," Revista do Arquivo, Year XI, Vol. CI, São Paulo, 1945, p. 45.

But the frequency of true interracial marriages, that is to say, between persons belonging to different racial groups, is difficult to estimate by the customary methods of ethnic classification. In order to do this, it would be necessary to classify genetically the contracting parties or to study the genealogy of numerous families. Given the fact that individuals of "white" phenotype are sometimes métis (2),

2. Dr. Paul Rivet calls our attention to the facility with which the African Black has cross-bred with the Whites and Indians of South America. On this subject, see Les origines de l'homme américain /The Origins of the American Man/, Montreal, 1947. Also consult M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York, 1930.

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it becomes extremely difficult to acquire certitude that a marriage is interracial. What matters in this study, however, are the marriages between colored persons and persons "socially white," which undeniably are very frequent. Out of 1,269 marriages, Pierson found 3.3 o/o interracial, a figure actually very low for a region in which the barriers of color are so tenuous. These figures have surely been taken from a total of marriages of persons of all classes (3).

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3. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 209.

If we examine the situation in the intermediate and lower strata, one will see that the proportion may reach 20% or more.

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1),
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1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
• [113] be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

000These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1),

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

• [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 555 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

● [113]

1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

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The Bureaucracy

In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [668] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

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1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their assertion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal dur- [665] ing an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] [796] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

[SALVADOR]

/69 cont./

*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] •[113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos racials no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

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*563 793 [195] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At [555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

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[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

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555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

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2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

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[SALVADOR]

/85/ The Intellectual Life

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The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

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1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

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2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

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[SALVADOR]

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563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

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3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one caboclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

5: Azevedo--114 D,Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

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[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Saude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy provided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

The very select clubs having a predominance of members who are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal professions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories mentioned above is the following:

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes non-existent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

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1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

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A dark mulatto intellectual declares that "the Brazilians, because of the gentleness of their customs, have never experienced here the ferocity of this prejudice" (2).

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2. Teodoro Sampaio, speech in Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, Year XXVI, No. 45, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.

The opinion of a light-colored lawyer is no less incisive: "Will the Negro constitute a specific problem within the bosom of the Brazilian community? Our determination not to admit, either theoretically or practically, color or caste prejudice among us is expressed by a definitive word: No" (3).

3. W. Morais, loc. cit.

The reaction of the majority of Bahians to a question bearing on racial discrimination in their territory would be the same as that of these three students of Bahia, one of them a pardo, who, speaking of a Communist congress abroad, published a declaration in which it was said: "Most deplorable was the activity of some Communist members of the Brazilian delegation. They insistently endeavored to defame the political and social organization of our country by exaggerating its errors and its imperfections to the point of declaring that there exists among us an odious racial discrimination."

While the "socially white" express themselves thus, certain Blacks and mulattoes express opinions not only different, but diametrically opposite. A man practicing a liberal profession, of whom we have spoken previously, wrote in 1922 that he observed on the part of certain influential persons "the intense desire to keep the black man in a state of segregation, although this desire was concealed." Several years later another leader of the same type, in an article entitled "The eternal injustice against the Black," confirmed this assertion by saying that "there is a prejudice whose aim is to lower on the human scale the descendants of Blacks among whom the percentage of African blood

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/94 cont./ predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

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1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil; he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

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*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

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1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto categórico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

*563 829 [565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3).

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case; exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

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A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

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4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

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The Black Movements in Bahia

About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest